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OUR
NATION'S PERIL
AND
THE WAY OF ESCAPE,

BY
PROF. JOHN MOFFAT.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
PROHIBITION COMMITTEE OF CHESTER
COUNTY, PA.

G. HOWARD LEEDS,
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INTRODUCTION.

THIS little work has been written by the request of the Temperance and Prohibition Committee of Chester county, Pa., who, desirous of having a small work adapted for general circulation, requested the writer to prepare in condensed form for publication the substance of a series of lectures lately delivered in Chester county. As they desired it to be small, so that it could be circulated at a trifling expense, we have experienced great difficulty in presenting the subject in a satisfactory manner in so limited a space; we could do no more than give a mere outline of the thoughts presented in the lectures. We have attempted to make the work suggestive, though not exhaustive. As its object is to awaken an interest in the cause of Temperance, and quicken our people to a sense of the dangers to which we are exposed, we have concluded that the object in view would be best attained by adding the testimony of others also. We have, therefore, inserted two very able articles from the pen of Dr. Stebbins, and also a very eloquent and earnest discourse by the Rev. Canon Farrar.

The articles by Dr. Sumner Stebbins will be found worthy of a careful perusal. They embody sound practical views, set forth in so clear and concise a manner that they cannot fail to carry conviction to

every candid mind. The discourse of Canon Farrar is not only valuable on account of its intrinsic merit, but is especially interesting to us as testimony from a very high authority as to the soundness of the principles advocated by the Prohibitionists in America. It shows, too, that the thinkers of Great Britain are alarmed by the perils to which their nation is exposed by the liquor traffic. Strong drink seems to be the special curse of the *Anglo-Saxon race*. We had written the first chapter of *Our Nation's Peril*, when our attention was called to this eloquent discourse; we determined to insert it as the best endorsement we could have of the soundness of our views, and that our words of warning were words of truth and soberness and not the utterances of a dreaming alarmist. We trust the words of Canon Farrar may sink deep into the hearts of our people; for what he says of his country is true also of ours: "No nation, no individual, can thrive so long as it is under the dominion of a besetting sin. It must conquer, or be *conquered*; it must destroy it, or be destroyed by it; it must strike at the sources of it, or be stricken down by it into the dust."

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

IF ever our country is to be delivered from the curse of strong drink, it must be by the legal suppression of the liquor traffic.

Experience teaches us that however earnest our efforts to check the evil, and however successful we may be in persuading men to abandon their cups, and practice individual temperance, this after all is only a palliative, not a cure. While it is a grand work of Christian charity, worthy of our best efforts, and commands our sympathy and coöperation, yet we cannot base our hopes of ultimate triumph upon the reformation of drunkards. We must reform the usages of society that made them such. So long as the drinking usages are respectable, men will drink, and so long as men drink many will become the victims of the abnormal and depraved appetite. The drinking-usage will retain its respectability so long as the liquor traffic is recognized by law to be a legitimate business. While the stumbling blocks are in the way the weak will fall, and these stumbling blocks must be removed by the strong—the weak will not, and cannot remove them. This must be done by the united effort of the people as citizens. The suppression of vice and crime by the persuasive influence of higher motives and a pure example, belongs to the department of morals, but the prohibition of

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vice and crime, for the protection of society, belongs to the science of government, and must be accomplished by political measures. These measures must be sustained by the votes of the people. As a stream cannot rise higher than its source, it is vain to expect an enlightened and progressive policy to emanate from an ignorant people, hence all reforms must begin with the people; let the fountain be pure, else you cannot have a pure stream.

To reach the masses with the truth, and to endeavor to awaken them to a sense of their danger ere it is too late, is the object we have in view in issuing this little work. While it is not all we could desire, yet we feel satisfied that it is all that could be expected in a work of its size and price. We think it will be found to present more pungent truth in the space, than any other work issued on the subject, and have no doubt its circulation will do much to awaken an interest in the cause, and create a demand for more exhaustive works. A reference to the advertising pages will show that we are preparing to supply that demand.

We must rely more upon the printed page as an educator, and not only publish good works, but adopt means to have them circulated. As we have published this work at a very low price, and offer very liberal inducements to those who will aid in its circulation, we feel confident that good will be accomplished, and hope all friends of temperance and prohibition will recognize our humble effort as a step in the right direction.

OUR NATION'S PERIL.

CHAPTER I.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."—*Prov.* xiv. 34.

"When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice, but when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn."—*Prov.* xxix. 2.

IF it be true that history repeats itself, and that like causes produce like effects; when our industries are paralyzed, and in the midst of a land of boundless resources, thousands are crying for bread; when a spirit of hate and antagonism is springing up between the large class who are dependent on their daily toil, and those who hold property and money; when sectional prejudice and animosity are the chief elements in our national politics, upon which partisan politicians depend for the success of their respective parties, and the perpetuation of their power; when we hear even in the distance the mutterings of the thunder of discontent, and communistic doctrines are boldly proclaimed in our midst;—it becomes the duty of the Christian and the patriot to lift

their warning voice, and point out to the people the rocks upon which they are likely to make shipwreck.

We are fully aware that this is an ungrateful task, and in this age when Pulpit, Press and Platform can only secure popularity by prophesying unto the people smooth things, and saying peace, peace, when there is no peace, I am not surprised that so few can be found to hold up the evils that threaten our nation in all their naked deformity. It is always annoying, both to individuals and to nations, to be warned, with irritating pertinacity, of dangers which threaten them.

And the more unanswerable the prophet, the more hated he is sure to be. All history proves this. The heroic old prophets, who warned Israel of old, had to flee to the mountains to escape the wrath of wicked rulers, and the fury of an exasperated populace. And so it has been in all nations, and in all ages. It has been so in the history of our own nation, and never till called upon to pass through the fiery ordeal of war and bloodshed, do we realize the fact that demoralizing influences, if incorporated in our national polity, and sanctioned by our laws, must either be eliminated by the popular vote of an educated and enlightened public, or by revolution. All history proves that in a free country no system can be perpetuated that is based upon the degradation of its citizens, or that tends to build up

one class at the expense of others. I might here enumerate several causes of danger: The divorce that has taken place between labor and capital; the tendency of all our legislation to injure the interests of the great toiling millions, in our eagerness to protect the wealth of the favored few; our tendency to mammon-worship, and the controlling and corrupting influence of money upon the elective franchise; all tending to demoralize the voter. When we remember the fact that the power is after all in the hands of the great mass of the people, and that our safety depends on their virtue, and intelligence, is there not reason for alarm in the signs of the times? Let us calmly look at our situation. I am no alarmist, but I assure you, friends, I have looked with painful anxiety at the situation, and I foresee in our condition, our sectional prejudices, our class legislation, our grasping and corrupt corporations, our ignoring the principles laid down by our Revolutionary fathers; the elements at work that must in the end—nay! in the near future—produce anarchy and revolution. We are a busy, hopeful people, prone to be too occupied with the duties of to-day to take any thought of to-morrow; and still less to speculate upon the pregnant possibilities of the day after. We are a sanguine race, moreover, ever prone to rush on blindly, cherishing the hope that something would turn up to save us from what we dislike

and dread. But, dear friends, let us pause and think ; let us take warning in time. It is true of the nation, as well of the individual, that "whatsoever we sow that shall we also reap." If we go on continuing to sow the seeds of hate, sectionalism, and political corruption, these seeds will most surely germinate. They will ripen, and in fullness of time we must reap the inevitable harvest of woe, misery, and death, yea, the death of our free institutions. Unless we come up like men to the work of purification, looking the evils squarely in the face, understanding their nature, and, at whatsoever sacrifice of our feelings, our cherished party affiliations, be determined to eradicate them, we may prepare to put on our weeds of mourning, and lay our boasted Republic in the dust.

We propose in these lectures to devote our attention to the great destroying element, the one which lies at the root of all the others ; feeling satisfied that if the demoralizing influence of strong drink were removed, the great obstacle to progress would be overcome. For if the lessons of history prove anything they prove this, that a nation's peril comes not from without, but from within. Its safety, its perpetuity, depends not upon extent of territory, luxuriance of soil, salubrity of clime, richness in resources ; but upon the virtue, intelligence, and integrity of the people. The Legislature may be corrupt for a time,

the financial policy may be bad, but if we can only fall back upon our honest, virtuous populace, we will find the great remedial agent, that will soon correct the evils of legislation. *If the fountain whence emanates all power be pure, the stream will soon be clear.* It was not by the strong arms of the Medes and Persians that Babylon fell, but by the drunkenness and debauchery of her people.

Persia in her time fell not so much by the valor of the Greeks as by the enervation of her own people, who in their days of prosperity and power lost those qualities of self-denial, temperance and virtue, that made her armies invincible when under Cyrus they marched to victory. Greece, with all her boasted civilization, her triumphs in science and in arts, could not save herself, and Athens, the wonder of the world, fell into insignificance.

Then comes the mighty Rome, the city of "Seven Hills." Wine, spoil and luxury demoralized her people. The designing demagogue led the infatuated citizens like a lamb to the slaughter. The few rolled in luxury, the many were sunk into the depths of abject poverty; the great heart of that mighty empire was paralyzed, and its strong arm *unnerved*. Virtue was no more, honor had departed, and the Goths, Huns and Vandals, descending upon her plains, found her an easy prey. History is philosophy,

teaching by example ; and do we not find in it lessons that we Americans require to ponder ?

The enemies of a nation most to be dreaded are those harbored within its own borders ; and it becomes the sacred duty of every citizen to keep a vigilant watch upon those enemies. Now we assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that the liquor traffic, and the drinking usages consequent upon that traffic, is the greatest adversary we have to dread, in the sapping of the foundations of our national life.

It destroys the productive industry of the nation. By destroying life, it lessens the number of citizens. By producing disease, it detracts from the vigor of the people.

It destroys, by its action on the brain, our intellectual power, and at the same time blunts our moral perceptions, while it intensifies all that is low and animal in our nature. Thus it strikes a direct blow at the prosperity and safety of the nation. With such an enemy in its midst, no country can be permanently great and prosperous. No matter how splendid its resources, how boundless its wealth ; if luxury, licentiousness and drunkenness prevail, its strength and greatness will be undermined, its integrity threatened, and its utter desolation and ruin sure. Such has been the fate of nations in the past, and, as like causes produce like effects, such will be our own fate in the not very distant future. How import-

ant then is the inquiry, Can this evil be stayed, or does it exist by a necessity of nature? In the present stage of temperance reform, it becomes us to pause and review the field, and before we give up in despair (as too many are inclined to do) let us inquire earnestly into the causes of discouragement. Let us understand the subject in all its details, and having clearly comprehended the nature of the evil, we will be better prepared to decide whether the means we have relied upon have been adequate to the removal of such a curse.

As to the effects of intemperance, we need not now stop to portray them. The world has been pretty well informed upon the extent and terrible results of this king of evils. Not only have our eyes seen, our ears heard, and our hearts felt the bitterness of the curse, but going beyond our own land, and our own age, wherever we turn our eyes we find a record of blood.

No matter to what age or nation, ancient or modern, we look, the same terrible facts stare us in the face. The dead past is but a photograph of the living present. Wherever intoxicants are used, drunkenness in its folly, its revel, its beastliness, its crime, stalks like a mighty hideous monster; while disease, ignorance, sensuality, insanity, and poverty in its filthy rags, follow in its track. While we gaze with horror on the terrible panorama, we behold the monster crime,

with bloody hands, bringing up the rear, and the terrible procession marching to the music of the widow's wail, and the orphan's cry, intermingled with the shrill shriek of the murdered victim, and the despairing wail of the lost soul.

The question now is, Can we stay the destroyer? Can we block the wheel that rolls in blood and ruin? Can any question be of more importance than this?

As before remarked, we find many desponding ones in the temperance cause. And while we would say to such, that in deciding our action, the chances of success should not be taken into account by the true reformer, much less by the Christian, 'tis enough to know that we are right. We ought to go on in our good work and be content, leaving the result of our effort to a higher power.

If we believe the promise of God, then we ought to have faith that when we use the proper means we will accomplish the desired result. We should set an example to the moralist that will convince him of the genuine character of our faith. Let our lives and our actions say:

"Sweet moralist, afloat on life's rough sea,
The Christian has an art unknown to thee;
He holds no parley with unmanly fears,
Where duty bids, he confidently steers;
Faces a thousand dangers at her call,
And, trusting in his God, surmounts them all."

Much of the discouragement, however, arises from a misconception of the work we have undertaken. In fact, but a small proportion even of those who are enrolled as the advocates of temperance, and not all of those who claim to be public lecturers and leaders of the reform, have an adequate idea either of the nature of the evil, or of those influences that perpetuate it. Hence their efforts are spasmodic, rising occasionally with the tide of popular enthusiasm to a sublime height of self-denying devotion to the cause, and again sinking into a state of cold indifference, or a hopeless, helpless despondency. It is only he who has a clear conception of the reform, of the nature and extent of the obstacles to be overcome, that can form a proper estimate, either of the value of the work already done, or of the prospects in the future for a final triumph over the enemy. In the contest with this monster vice, let us examine the strongholds behind which the enemy is entrenched, and see from how many of them he has been driven; and what are the nature and strength of the works to be carried before we can realize victory. We must see, at some time in the future, an assured and complete victory, or we cannot hope to keep men interested, and induce them to spend their time or money in a work that is never to be accomplished. It is not in human nature to stick to any cause and make continual efforts for its

promotion, unless they can see some result—*a duck in a walled pond will soon drown*. There is philosophy in the story told of the Quaker, who refused alms to an able-bodied mendicant from the Emerald Isle, but said he would give him work at good wages. Not having any convenient employment to give him, he put an old battered axe in his hand, that had been used for chopping bones, sent him to his wood-pile, and told him to chop away with that upon a very knotty, hard old log. Patrick soon got weary of the job, and told his employer that he was doing no good. The Quaker replied, "I did not expect *thee* to do any good; I simply put thee on that to keep thee employed; work away, I'll pay thee well for thy day's work." Pat tried to reconcile himself to the work by the promise that he would be paid all the same. But it was too much for human nature. He threw the axe away in disgust, exclaiming, "Bad luck to me if I chop for any man, I don't care how well he pays me, unless I can see the chips fly." Yes friends, we all *like to see the chips fly*, and we shall endeavor to show you that in proportion to our conception of the work to be done, *we have made the chips fly*.

Our cause is not a failure. If men are disappointed in absurd expectations, this is no evidence of failure. Our blunders of method, our partial plans, are no cause for despair. I have no patience with those half-hearted reformers (from

among a class of whom we might expect better things) who tell us the temperance cause is a failure. Is the law of the land a failure because it does not obliterate crime?—because it does not make men honest, but only limits their roguery? Is the preacher a failure because he does not convert all the wicked? Neither is the temperance cause a failure because it has not obliterated drunkenness. *The knowledge of a disease is essential to its cure.* Until the nature and cause of this great ulcer upon society is fully understood, an adequate remedy is simply impossible. Therefore, unless we fully equip ourselves with the proper means of removing the cause, the effect must and will follow. Before we reach that point, there is neither ground for expectation nor discouragement. When enthusiasm embarks in the work of eradicating an evil, depending upon impulse, not stopping to inquire whether the means employed are in their nature calculated to accomplish the end in view, failure is inevitable, a collapse of effort follows, and it is long before the undertaking can be renewed in the old spirit, even under wiser plans. It is not the delay of a reform that discourages its advocates, but the adoption of unsatisfactory measures, upon which we had based high hopes. When those hopes are blasted by disappointment, the moral forces are demoralized, and we fall back discouraged, and cry failure, failure,

when in reality there is no failure, except the failure of our perception in accepting a partial and unsatisfactory reform, that had in it the elements of reaction, and therefore proved a mockery by the vanity of the result.

In tracing the history of the temperance cause, I think we can show that our labor has not been in vain, but that the seed sown has invariably borne fruit; and that in exact proportion to our conception of what was required to be done, has our success been great or otherwise. We ought not to be discouraged if we do not accomplish a work that we have never attempted. We should not be discouraged because we have not exterminated the rum curse—we have not yet attempted that work. We are just beginning to come up to it now.

Never in the history of any cause has as much been done with the means employed, as has been accomplished by the temperance reform. Contrast the opinions of to-day, with what they were half a century ago! What a change has been produced in the conceptions of mankind, and in the social usages of society, with reference to *strong drink*!

Fifty years ago the world was in profound ignorance of the properties of alcoholic drinks, and their effect upon the human organism. Strong drinks were daily set out on the sideboard, and offered to every guest. Those who refused them

were looked upon as fanatics. The products of the still were thought to possess a wondrous potency as a preventive of disease. Those, therefore, who feared the pestilence, or the burning rage of fever, and the lesser ills of life, sought in liquor a safeguard and a refuge. Our efforts have at last changed all this. The attention of the scientific world has been arrested, investigation has resulted, and now the nature of the evil is understood, at least by the intelligent few. It is only a matter of time for this information to be scattered broadcast, so that the masses shall understand the subject, and they will unite with a will to overthrow the curse. For mankind do not willingly injure themselves. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and what is true of the individual is true of the nation. This will be the work of time. To change the opinions of mankind, overcome preconceived notions, long established prejudices and social usages, is a slow process, especially when they are sustained by the monetary interests of a large class of society.

At first, society, appalled by the terrible evils of drunkenness, only contemplated the suppression of the effects. And it was only after years of effort in trying to avert drunkenness by the pledges of men to the temperance societies (or the *so-called temperance* societies of that time), that the truth dawned upon them that total abstinence from all that can intoxicate, was the only

remedy for the evil. The step from the so-called temperance, which only contemplated abstinence from distilled spirits, and permitted the use of wines and malt liquors, was the first great advance in the reform. But still few realize intemperance to be more than an incidental evil that might follow from the use of strong drink, and not an evil that in obedience to physical law must follow. Hence the majority of our first leaders on the total abstinence platform, were only abstainers upon the ground of expediency. They had not yet grasped the idea that alcohol in all its forms was *per se*, an enemy of man.

The doctrine of these men, briefly stated, was as follows: "Though strong drink is good in itself for those who can use it in moderation, yet, in view of the fact that so many abuse it, and that its use can be abandoned by me without serious inconveniences, I will for the sake of those who have fallen, or who are in danger of falling, abstain." Even now I find that there are many, very many, prominent men, especially amongst the clergy, who are enrolled in the temperance ranks, that take no higher ground than this. Now, however commendable this spirit may be, yet it requires no great amount of philosophy to understand that these reformers are, after all, only half-hearted in the work. And the cause can make no rapid advances under such convictions. This doctrine of expediency is founded

on the false idea that alcoholic beverages, when taken in moderation, are good, or at least innocent. Now the facts of science prove this idea to be false; hence the doctrine founded upon it is false also. Science has demonstrated clearly and conclusively that alcohol is of no value as food; but that it is most dangerous and injurious, that its action on the human organism is uniformly that of poison.

The intelligent temperance reformer bases his practice and commendation of total abstinence from all beverages containing alcohol, not upon expediency, but upon science.

Science teaches us that fermentation is a chemical process; that alcohol is a product of fermentation, that it has no existence in nature, that it is the product of decomposition, of death, not of life; and that it is at war with that process of vital chemistry going on within the laboratory of the human body.

He bases his practice upon physiology. This science has followed alcohol in all its operations upon animal organs; has traced its action in the cellular structure, and ultimate tissues, and, after performing hundreds of experiments upon man, beast, bird and reptile, all men of science agree in pronouncing it an enemy to the vital system; producing disease, injury to the brain, shortening life, and blunting the moral perceptions. As a necessary result of these facts, he must abstain

on the ground of Christian morality. He cannot avoid the conclusion that even the moderate use of alcoholic beverages, being a violation of natural law, is no other than a violation of the divine law. We do not here propose to discuss the Scriptural view of the subject; it is enough for our present purpose to note that the whole spirit of the Bible's teaching is in harmony with the teachings of *total abstinence*.

It is strange that mankind should be so slow to accept principles so plain as those involved in the temperance reform. But when we reflect upon the power of prejudice, we need not wonder that even the word *temperance* is misapplied to include the moderate use of bad things; or that the evils resulting from the use of alcoholic beverages, should be confined to excess.

When it is admitted by all that their use is unnecessary, that they can be dispensed with, why is it that man still clings to a usage, fraught with so much evil, and productive of no good? Why is it, that the moderate drinker will persist in taking such a risk without (according to his own admission) any substantial equivalent? that he will thus continue to play a dangerous game with his constitution, and stake upon the result of that game, *every joy of earth, and every hope of heaven*? If he wins in that game, and succeeds all his life in remaining a moderate drinker, at best he has gained nothing. If on the other

hand he loses, what has he lost? Alas, he has lost all that renders life valuable. Health is lost, peace is lost, happiness gone. All the tender ties of family and home are sacrificed. Nay more! he has lost that, in the contemplation of whose value, the mind of man is bewildered; and in the description of which, *the living light of mortal eloquence is forever darkened*. He has lost his soul, for God hath declared that "no drunkard shall inherit his kingdom." O, gaze upon that wreck of humanity! and tell me, if you can, the value of what he has sacrificed. As we look upon that blasted form, with the dull waters of disease standing in those eyes, with sensuality seated on those blistered lips, physical strength, mental power, and moral beauty all gone, his very breath infectious, and his whole frame trembling beneath the awful curse of strong drink—go and ask him how he came to such a depth of degradation, by what foul means he has been thus debased. Ask him if he produced this result by his own option, if he intended to become the poor, miserable, demented outcast that you now behold. In his lucid moments he will tell you, *no*; that once he stood erect in the beauty of manhood, with just as holy and noble aspirations leaping up from the temple of his soul, as any man; and as full of bright anticipations and elevating sympathies. He will tell you that he never intended thus to degrade himself, but that

compliance with social usage and under the mistaken idea that strong drink taken moderately was an innocent, if not a beneficial beverage, that gradually, imperceptibly, but most surely, did the appetite grow upon him until it became an insatiable consuming passion which he has now no power to control. This, my friends, is no fancy sketch, but the true history, that is written over all our country, and repeated every day before us. O, when will we learn wisdom! How long, O Lord! how long! 'till the light of thy truth written in our daily experience will impress us with the lesson of thy word. "Look not upon the wine when it is red—at last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder."

A few of the most advanced thinkers on the temperance question, now take higher ground than that generally assumed, that moderate drinking is not only wrong, because it may lead to excess, but that it is of itself a violation of physical law; hence it becomes a sin. What is sin? The willful transgression of the law. What is the law? An established and permanent rule, expressive of principles and relations, obedience to which is demanded by the Supreme Ruler. Physical law is as binding as moral law; and the man who knowingly violates a physical law incurs guilt equally with him who steals, bears false witness, or violates any moral precept. The man of ordinary intelligence who has the

opportunity to inform himself of the nature of alcohol as a foreign agent, that will in no way contribute to the welfare and comfort of man, but on the other hand is a poison of a very dangerous and fascinating character, and that the most cautious use of it is attended with great danger, not only to man's physical constitution, but also to his moral and spiritual nature, we have no hesitation in saying commits sin. But we propose to take a step in advance of the usual position, that moderate drinking is wrong, because it may lead to intemperance or to drunkenness. We propose to show that the *moderate use of liquors is intemperance*; nay, that the danger to society is greater from the so-called moderate use, than from drunkenness, and that even if moderate drinking never resulted in drunkenness, if drunkenness were unknown, yet still the greatest peril to which our nation is exposed is the drinking usages, and the liquor traffic. We have long held these opinions, and not unfrequently advanced them, often being called ultra by good friends of the cause. In fact we had felt that we were alone in this advanced position until we met Dr. Summer Stebbins, who has given the subject much thought, and who has kindly furnished us with his views on the subject, from which we shall freely extract in the discussion of this view of the question. We trust the friends of the cause will bear with

us in the examination of these somewhat dry and abstract questions. We speak earnestly, for we feel that the time has come when mere popular oratory is out of place. We want earnest thought, thorough investigation. The progress of our work of reform, our hope of curing this sad disorder of the body politic, depends not upon the enthusiasm with which the people may be inspired, but upon the vigor and clearness with which they grasp the great truths of the reform, and the potency of the plans adopted for the removal of the cause of intemperance. Having glanced at the general question, we now proceed to point out the nation's peril through this pernicious custom, from the following causes.

The fact that the drinking usage produces drunkenness is not the worst feature of the evil. We have long entertained the opinion that we are more endangered by moderate drinking than by drunkenness. More than twenty years ago we were severely criticized by leading temperance men, for the expression in one of our lectures that as a lover of humanity we rejoiced that *drinking did produce drunkenness*; that we wished every man and woman who habitually used strong drink, just so surely became poisoned as that every one who swallowed a sufficient quantity of arsenic surely died. For then the curse would be stayed, as no man desired to become a drunkard, and if the dread result were

inevitable, the practice would soon cease. We would be spared the disasters that flow from the errors and mistakes of those with whom we come in contact in every relation of life, public and private. The judge on the bench, the representative in our Legislative halls, the lawyer to whom we trust our monetary interests, the physician whom we call to the bed-side of our sick, the engineer of the railway in whose hands our lives are entrusted when we travel, the domestic in our households, may all be called temperate people, and yet under the baneful influence of moderate drinking imperil our interest. I am aware that the great majority of even temperance people are not yet prepared to take this high ground, that moderate drinking is a greater curse to the nation than drunkenness.

As the views of Dr. Stebbins accord with our own, we shall in the next chapter give his views on the subject.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.

BY DR. S. STEBBINS.

Life is a battle, and the advent of truth as certainly brings the sword of controversy into play for the destruction of error and its baneful practices, as it ultimately brings a peaceful harvest of positive blessings.—*Dr. F. R. Lees.*

WHEN an evil becomes so universal as to pervade all classes of society and disclose its pernicious effects in every direction, the mind is often baffled and bewildered in searching out its precise origin. Intemperance, like the atmosphere, is everywhere around us, and its root is not always perceptible. But a root it has, and it behooves us to look about us and see if it cannot be detected and made apparent to all. Many sensible people assure us that it can be traced directly to the *distilleries*, and are anxious that they should be closed up. They have probably not considered the difficulty of such a task, so long as there is a pressing demand for the products of the still. What creates that demand? In the estimation of some, the *drunkards* create the demand for whisky, and they also are blamed for originating and perpetuating the evil of intemperance. Such has long been the popular

notion, and as a consequence, we have laws in nearly all the States against selling liquor to drunkards, and many excellent people are very anxious that those laws should be rigidly enforced. Suppose that we examine that matter a moment. Where do the drunkards get their liquor? In the taverns. Are the taverns kept by drunkards? No, a drunkard is legally incompetent to keep a tavern; the law allows none but "men of good repute for honesty and temperance" to keep tavern! The taverns then are kept by a class called *moderate drinkers*, who furnish the drunkards with liquor contrary to law. If that be so, the drunkards are not alone to blame.

As we are now getting on the track of a class who are not full-blown drunkards, yet who seem to be somewhat responsible, we will pursue the matter a little further. What class of people do the tavern keepers rely on to consume their liquor? They depend principally on moderate drinkers. They do not like to be annoyed with drunkards, especially such as are noisy and troublesome, and they curse and berate them in unstinted phrase. Like all other dealers, they prefer quiet and civil customers. They dread to see such outrageous drunkards enter their bar-rooms as are likely to bring discredit on their occupation, knowing as they do that they are often blamed for dealing out liquor to such wretches, and also that the law forbids it. Why

is that law so generally violated? Because the drunkard thinks he has as much right to his glass of grog as the more moderate customer; the tavern-keeper, however much he may despise and denounce him, wants his money, and it is not always easy to discriminate between the moderate drinker and the drunkard while the latter is peaceable; and perhaps the tavern-keeper is reluctant to make flesh of one and fish of another. His better feelings may have something to do with it, for he sees that the poor drunkard enjoys his drink even more than the moderate tippler; he loves to gratify him, hates partiality, and is unwilling to give offence by refusing him so long as he behaves himself. The law then, it appears, which gives license and sanction to the traffic, *provides taverns for the exclusive accommodation of moderate drinkers.* The drunkards have no right to enter such places for the purpose of drinking, although often found there. *If they could only be kept away and deprived of liquor,* all would go on smoothly. Such are the impressions of the multitude!

Suppose now that we should *reverse* the present system. Let us see how it would work. In case the law should forbid the sale of liquor *to all except drunkards,* and every tavern-keeper should strictly comply with its provisions, would the business of selling to drunkards *exclusively* continue for any great length of time? No.

Why not? For several reasons; 1st, there are not drunkards enough in the vicinity of any one tavern to support a bar; 2d, there is hardly a being on earth so debased as to continue the business of selling liquor to drunkards alone; the tavern-keepers would quit it in disgust if confined to such customers; 3d, many of the drunkards themselves would be ashamed to be seen at a place where none but drunkards were admitted; 4th, the race of drunkards would soon run out and become extinct if a new crop was not developed by the practice of moderate drinking; and 5th, there is no community in the world that would tolerate the liquor traffic if it was confined to drunkards exclusively. If all that be true, and it appears incontrovertible, the presence and influence of drunkards is rather *against* than *for* the continuance of the evil. The crime of selling liquor to moderate drinkers must be even greater than selling it to drunkards, as it is worse to excite a morbid appetite than it is to pimp or pander to one already fixed and confirmed, but the mass of the people are of a different opinion. Are the moderate drinkers worse people than the drunkards? No, certainly not; as a general thing they are much better, *and therefore have more influence than the drunkards in alluring the uninitiated to commence the practice of drinking.* The ruined and blasted character of the drunkard excites an abhorrence of the fatal habit which has

caused all his misery; but the more attractive example of the moderate drinker, *especially if he be a man of position and weight in the community*, comes in to inspire a delusive confidence in the correctness and safety of the drinking custom. *In this way the young are ensnared into the company and entrapped into the habits of moderate drinkers, and the blighting fashion is thus kept up.*

We will pursue the subject now but a step further. Who made the license law? Our legislators. Are they drunkards? No, only moderate drinkers. Are they chosen by drunkards? They are elected by such white male citizens as are qualified to vote. Are these voters all drunkards? No, not one in five of them. What are they? Principally moderate drinkers and total abstainers. Do teetotalers assist in electing such law makers? They do. How does that happen? It happens from a lack of fidelity to their principles: but we will not discuss that point now. It seems that the drunkards alone do very little to sustain the liquor traffic, *in fact, they appear only to hang upon it as an odious excrescence, and a hateful incumbrance that can not be shaken off, a weight that would sink it out of sight and out of existence forever, were it not propped up by the moderate drinkers.* The drunkards then surely are not the root of the evil, *they are merely its ripe and rotten fruit.* It is equally clear that the class

of people known as moderate drinkers are its sole and exclusive supporters.

Moderate drinkers are the makers of our license laws; moderate drinkers alone sustain them. Moderate drinkers manufacture the liquor, and moderate drinkers keep the taverns. Moderate drinkers sign the tavern-keepers' lying certificate, without which our courts could not grant them license to make drunkards. Moderate drinkers furnish taverns with the only class of customers that can sustain the liquor traffic, and without which it would be speedily abandoned. Moderate drinkers keep even the drunkards in countenance, without which many of them would be so disgusted with themselves and each other that they would cease to be drunkards. A considerable portion of the moderate drinkers are annually becoming drunkards themselves, and in this way the ranks of our half million army of drunkards are kept constantly full. Did they not pass gradually on through the process of transformation, the race of drunkards would in a few years become extinguished by death, and known only in the history of the past. If that does not bring us to the root of the evil, we must be very near to it.

Having shown that moderate drinkers are the sole drunkard makers, who are responsible for all the blight and moral desolation that over-spreads the land, let us examine *why it is* that the

practice of moderate drinking is still perpetuated among us? A true answer to this question will bring us to the *root itself*, and no mistake. Do men drink alcohol from any *natural desire* for such a stimulant? No, the appetite is as unnatural as the craving for tobacco, opium, or any other narcotic poison. If the appetite was a natural and spontaneous one, the safe quantity for each individual would satisfy it. It would be as universal as the desire for food or water, and as little liable to abuse; and it would be equally common to both sexes. It would be felt by all nations, tribes and people in all parts of the earth, and would have so manifested itself in all the past history of the race. But such is not the fact. The use of alcohol is confined very much to the *male sex* where it prevails, and it never was drank even among them universally. So far as can be ascertained, not more than one in twelve of that portion of the human family, have ever tasted a drop of it, and the custom was by no means common anywhere three hundred years ago. It is a modern fashion in Europe, and one that was hardly known in the North American Colonies before the Revolution. It did not prevail in the United States until within the last eighty years, and it never has been a general habit among the females of this country. If its use was either natural or necessary the demand would extend to *all*, from infancy to old age, and it would be as

urgent in one sex as the other, yet very few of our women, *with the exception of two well-defined classes, the upper and lower crust*, are known to indulge in it. One of these classes comprises the frail outcasts of our cities, who have little or no influence in upholding the drink custom outside of their degraded circle. The other stands before the world as the mirror of fashion itself, and "the rose of the fair state ;" and *it is this class especially* that does so much to demoralize the people by their infectious and pestilential example. But aside from these two corrupting classes of drinking women, we may indulge in the proud boast, that the real ladies of our Republic are too pure and too moral, to be guilty of sipping the drunkard's beverage. Nor do they feel the slightest hankering for it. Why is this? If such a beverage is ever needed to support the human system in health, *woman* with her weaker nerves, her sedentary life, her lack of exercise in the open air, her often protracted toil, her daily and nightly watching, nursing the sick and feeble, and with all her depressing and exhausting cares and anxieties, must surely need it *much more* than our active and robust men. Does not this resort to the bottle by one sex almost exclusively prove it to be *a mere fashion* and nothing more? Our sense of propriety is shocked *when we see a woman drink, or chew tobacco*. The use of the "*weed*" was once almost as com-

mon in this country among women as men. The filthy habit of smoking, and putting pulverized tobacco into their nostrils, was very prevalent fifty years ago, but we have become too refined for that, and woman has bowed to a common and prevailing sense of propriety. The fashion has changed; women no longer feel a want or an appetite for tobacco, and the use of that article is probably much harder to eradicate than the use of alcohol. We have banished one disgusting habit among women, and if we are faithful and persevering, we shall most undoubtedly get rid of another, *a thousand times worse*, among men. Let this vital truth then be ever borne in mind, that *it is fashion alone that keeps up the drink custom*, and not a natural appetite for liquor. Those who contend that the appetite is natural, *reason from the cravings of their own morbid and perverted natures*, which have been vitiated and depraved by their own bad habits. They do not distinguish between natural and *acquired* appetite. They might as well contend that the use of small iron shoes is the result of a desire natural to the ladies of China. Many of us no doubt sympathize with the victims of diminutive and helpless feet in the far-off East, but the Chinese custom is a combination of wisdom, health and utility, *compared to our American custom* of drinking that which is a mental and physical poison. The practice of torturing the feet with iron

shoes in the East, and the practice of torturing both soul and body with alcohol in the West, are both striking illustrations of *the power of fashion*. In both countries, and indeed in all countries, the prevailing fashion begins with the rich, and extends to the poor. That truly great and good man, Bishop Potter, has spoken "thoughts that breathe and words that burn" on this subject:

"Fashion propagates itself downward. Established and upheld by the more refined and opulent, it is soon caught up by those in less conspicuous walks. It spreads itself over the whole face of society, and becoming allied with other principles, is planted deep in the habits and associations of a people. Drinking usages are the chief [the sole] cause of intemperance; and these derive their force and authority, in the first instance, wholly from those who give law to fashion. Men are looking continually to those who, in their estimation, are more favored of fortune, or more accomplished in mind and manners than themselves. We do not regulate our watches more carefully by the town clock, than do nine-tenths of mankind take their tone from the residue who occupy places towards which all are struggling. Let the responsibility of these drinking usages be put then where it justly belongs. When you visit, on some errand of mercy, the abodes of the poor and afflicted; when you look in on some home which has been made dark by drunkenness, where hearts are desolate and hearths are cold; where want is breaking in as an armed man; where the wife is heart broken or debased, and children are fast becoming demoralized,—friends! would you connect effect with cause, and trace this hideous monster back to its true parent, let your thoughts fly away to some abode of wealth and refinement where conviviality reigns; where amidst joyous greetings and frequent protestations, and merry shouts, the flowing bowl goes round; and there you will see that which is sure to make

drinking everywhere attractive, and cannot fail to make drunkenness common.

"Would we settle our account, then, with the drinking usages of the refined and reputable? We must hold them answerable for maintaining corresponding usages in other classes of society, and we must hold them answerable further for the frightful amount of intemperance which results from those usages. We must hold them accountable for all the sin and all the unhappiness and all the pinching poverty and all the nefarious crimes to which intemperance gives rise. So long as these usages maintain their place among the respectable, so long will drinking and drunkenness abound through all grades and conditions of life. Hence the question whether this monster evil shall be abated, resolves itself into another question—Will the educated, the wealthy, the respectable, persist in sustaining the usages which produce it? Let them resolve that these usages shall no longer have their countenance, and their insidious power is broken."

- In the meantime, while the rich are indulging in practices so debasing and destructive to the poor of their respective neighborhoods, let the poor cultivate a spirit of sturdy independence of all such characters. Let them resolve to make their own fashions, and be no longer the obsequious slaves of those wealthy profligates, whose example and influence sheds blight and ruin upon society. Let them cherish a feeling of righteous indignation against these corruptors of the people—these moral enemies of their country. Let the wives and children of the poor drunkards be taught to know the source whence their troubles come, and let them point the finger of scorn at the rich wine-bibber, as he rides past their miser-

able hovels in his flashing equipage. Let there be a holy revolt, a universal uprising of the poor and the middle classes, against the demoralizing practices of the rich drinkers of the country. Let a line of moral and social demarkation be drawn between the aristocracy of elegant and genteel tipplers, and the virtuous and useful portion of the community, and let them be set at everlasting defiance. Let them be met everywhere, outside of their guzzling circle, with the frowns and detestations of the pure and the good, and let them not cease to hear the earnest maledictions of all such as would preserve their children from their vile and venomous contaminations.

Reader! Beware of the baneful influence of moderate drinkers, more especially of the wealthy and refined of both sexes, and let your loathing and execration of the drink fashion be as constant, intense and sateless, as your abhorrence of the devil himself, for that is the root of the evil.

CHAPTER III.

LETTER TO SYRACUSE CONVENTION, BY S. STEB-
BINS, M. D.

NOT all of our past labors have been in vain. We have established some important facts, which give a solid basis for future operation. Alcohol has been proved to be the same demoralizer whether in vinous or distilled liquors, and useless both as a beverage *and as a medicine*. That it may have some effect in neutralizing the venom of the rattlesnake is barely possible, but by no means certain. That it *arrests digestion* is the testimony of *all* modern physiologists. That *it cannot be assimilated* is proved by those great experimenters, Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy, and the fact is accepted by the entire medical profession. That "wine is superfluous to man," is the emphatic declaration of Baron Leibig. That *it retards atomic changes of tissue and impedes secretion*, thereby causing dangerous accumulations of effete matter in the blood, is equally well established. That it hurries the action of the heart and weakens muscular power is now known even to prize-fighters and boat-racers. That its moderate use is incompatible with health or strength, in any zone or climate of the world, is admitted

by all who have investigated the subject. That the death rate of total abstainers is only eleven per annum in a thousand, while the death rate of moderate drinkers is from sixteen to twenty-three per annum in a thousand, is ascertained by the carefully collected facts of life insurance companies. That it causes sixty thousand deaths a year in our country, which is one for every ten minutes, day and night, is not doubted. That it involves an annual loss of a billion of dollars cannot be denied, and that the liquor scourge, great as it is, is on the increase, no one disputes.

If it caused only a frightful amount of disease and premature death, accompanied by an immense loss of property, our bill of indictment would be very much abbreviated. Our most serious charge is that it poisons virtue—the most precious thing known to men or angels—and desecrates the human mind. That it kills the body is horrible beyond endurance; but that it deranges thought, blights natural affection, and ruins the immortal soul, is far worse. To demoralize a man is to do him and his family a greater wrong than to mar his health, or to bring upon him sudden death; and it is this maiming of the mental faculties, this mangling of the moral nature of our citizens, that produces such deep and irreparable injury to society as not only justifies, but demands, the interposition of government.

What more have we learned, which may be mentioned, without extending this communication to an unpardonable length? One of the most fatal errors that ever prevailed in any age, is the popular notion that the stage of alcoholic derangement, known and recognized as "drunkenness," is *the worst feature* of the dram drinking custom, and the practice of treating and being treated with alcoholic fluids would be comparatively harmless, if it never led to what is vaguely called "excess." *So far is this from being true*, that if we open our eyes to what is going on around us and in the world at large, we cannot fail to see that the evils of a *moderate* degree of intoxication are of themselves, *apart from their tendency to excess*, far *worse* than those growing out of downright sottishness. Bear in mind that the world is governed by moderate drinkers, and that the intellect that rules it *is not a sober or sane intellect*. It moulds public opinion, and gives a bias to the thoughts and opinions of multitudes who drink no alcohol themselves. They are under its secret influence without being aware of the spirit that controls them. What has been said of circumstances is true, if applied to this evil agent,

Men are the sport of alcohol, *when*
Alcohol *seems* the sport of men.

Drunkards have no power over public sentiment except to excite disgust for themselves. They

are not permitted to occupy posts of honor, trust, and responsibility. Moderate drinkers are; and we see the result in blunders, accidents and calamities in all directions. Alcohol acting on the brains of moderate drinkers first led the world to believe in its utility as a beverage. If the first drop ever swallowed had caused beastly drunkenness, the second would never have been indulged in. Alcohol acting on the brains of moderate drinking physicians first led them to prescribe it as a medicine, and the profession is not yet free from the degrading servitude. It was the same thing, acting on the brains of bishops and priests, that led them to turn their church edifices into drunkeries for the sale of liquor on holydays and religious festivals, thus spreading the corrupting custom far and wide over Europe. Alcohol acting on the brains of moderate drinking legislators dictates our laws; the same thing in the brains of moderate drinking judges, expounds them, and pronounces prohibitory legislation unconstitutional. What but alcohol could so muddle the brain of men as to set them to enacting laws to *regulate* that which is itself an incorrigible disturber, and which *deranges all human affairs*? Alcohol and nothing else suggested the idea that none but "men of good moral character" should be licensed to sell liquor, and that a law providing for its sale by a privileged few, under this sanction of government, is better than free

trade in rum? The slaveholders' rebellion was originated by moderate drinkers, and finished up with the murder of President Lincoln by a moderate drinker. Who believes that such a revolt could have occurred in a nation of teetotalers?

Alcohol in the brains of moderate drinking politicians controls the Republican and Democratic parties, and keeps a temperance plank out of their platforms. The liquor traffic is carried on by moderate drinkers and for the supply of moderate drinkers; drunkards are only an unwelcome excrescence, that fortunately cannot be shaken off. The press, with a few exceptions, is in the hands of moderate drinkers, and made subservient to the rum interest. The pulpit, in thousands of instances, is silenced by the same power, and a Temperance Text Book is kept out of our schools by it. No class of instructors are afraid of drunkards, but very many of them quail before moderate drinkers. Alcohol in the brains of moderate drinkers has poisoned our literature, from the infectious spawn of Anacreon down to the fermenting lines which lately escaped from "My Vineyard," and were first caught in the Atlantic Monthly Magazine. Drunkards make themselves incapable of such youth-corrupting exploits.

We now see that "drunkenness," against which so much is said by drinking people, is neither more nor less than the punishment which God

has provided for those who drink—that its pains and penalties are in proportion to self-abuse, and that it is a salutary infliction, which no one should escape who uses the drunkard's beverage in any quantity. Instead of desiring tipplers to be moderate in their potations, it is the duty of teetotalers to pray that all may speedily become drunken and disabled, who are so ignorant or presumptuous as to use an alcoholic drink of any kind.

We now perceive that all the ideas entertained by the framers and sustainers of license laws were false and pernicious. If, instead of prohibiting the sale of liquor to drunkards, and permitting its sale to the uninitiated, we had forbid its sale to all except drunkards, the latter would have been all dead or reclaimed long ago, and the now criminal process of manufacturing such characters would have ceased. The time has come for embodying in our laws more rational principles. If we cannot change the habits of old toppers, we can save our yet innocent children from becoming such, and that is a pressing, imperative duty.

The right to restrain implies the right to prohibit, a right which is no longer doubted by any sober lawyer; whereas "Local Option" has been tried, and declared unconstitutional by the supreme courts of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Indiana, and the most eminent judges of other States. If the project was not wrong in principle, the

idea of asking for that which would be a nullity if granted, is preposterous. Those who are petitioning for it now, are either the tools of dram-shop parties preparing the same snare in which the friends of temperance were caught in 1847, or they are sadly ignorant of the history of one of our most discouraging disasters. Local Option may serve a temporary purpose in England, where the legislative power is not so clearly defined under the British constitution; here it has been long dead. It was buried twenty-one years ago, and as it had no soul, it cannot be resurrected.

The constitutionality of a license law has never been tested by a competent tribunal, that I am aware of. Why this has not been done, seems strange. The neglect must have arisen from the fact that temperance men, like others, have been under the delusive phantasy that almost any kind of license law was better than no law on the subject, and that if all license laws were set aside by the judiciary, our condition would be worse than it is now. This is an error which can and should be fully exposed by the temperance press, as it is constantly misleading well-meaning men. If the constitutionality of a liquor license should ever be brought before a truly enlightened and impartial bench, it would be easy for a good lawyer to show that such an act has no analogy in American legislation; that it defeats our school

laws, our marriage laws, in short our whole criminal code, and that it contravenes the fundamental object of government itself. This could be made so plain, by a thorough discussion of the subject, that a righteous verdict would be sure to follow. If by this or any other method, the cursed license system could be got out of the way, prohibition would soon follow as a necessary consequence.

The effete folly of a liquor license is pretty generally admitted; the public verdict, denouncing it as criminal, cannot linger long. As a restraint upon the traffic, it is seen to be utterly worthless; but as a protector and perpetuator of that which it neither restrains nor regulates, it is more than ever craved by the vast horde of liquor dealers that infest and torture society. Its abandonment by Maine in the east, or Iowa in the west, evokes a howl of consternation, fear and rage throughout the Union. Even the little cold-water Eden known as Vineland, in New Jersey, is hated by them as the imp of perdition are supposed to hate the land of eternal rest, merely because it has thus far escaped the alcoholic desolation.

But by far the greatest of all blunders ever made by the friends of temperance—if charity itself will justify the use of a word so mild as *blunder*—has been the yearly assistance we have given to the rum party in electing license men to make and execute our laws. We all see, or may now see, that this *once thoughtless*, but *now guilty*

practice, has been the principal cause of our lack of success in obtaining a prohibitory law in every State and territory in the Union.

The immorality of the liquor traffic was so clearly set forth by Rev. Justin Edwards, in 1833, that it made a profound impression on the religious sentiment of the country, and many of the churches so altered their discipline, as to make it a disownable offense to sell intoxicating beverages. In the same year he broached the idea of prohibitory legislation, but most unfortunately failed to carry the argument to its logical conclusion.

Had he demonstrated, as he might have done, that to vote for a license man to be a law-maker was helping the rum party as much or more than getting drunk or keeping a drunkery, and that the man that casts such a vote, *violates his pledge and forfeits his right to membership, either in a temperance society or a Christian church*, he would have set the cause he had so much at heart on a right foundation, and a law-protected liquor traffic would long ere this have been among the barbarisms of the past.

The great misfortune is that the rum traffic is upheld and perpetuated by persons who are unconscious of their complicity and culpability. The land is full of drunkard makers, who do not realize that such is their true character. A vast majority of the American people would unite in

the banishment of the rum scourge, if they could see clearly in what way the thing could be accomplished. It can be accomplished very easily, and it will be as soon as each one ceases to be a drunkard maker, who heartily wishes it accomplished. Their eyes must be opened to see exactly where they stand. Nothing can be more clear to me, than the fact that intemperance in the United States is upheld by the mistaken aid of temperance men. My old friend, Gerrit Smith, is certainly right on the subject, and the wonder is that we have not seen it before. How strange that we should have been groping in the dark so long, without perceiving that its main support is the ballot-box! We may as well acknowledge our error, and resolve that henceforth we will abstain from voting up what we are anxious to pull down. If temperance men, one and all, would simply withdraw their support from the liquor traffic—if they would but stand from under and leave it to the care of its interested and willing friends, it would speedily fall. But what is most deplorable of all, is the fact that a large portion of the good people who are honestly striving to rid the country of it, are themselves its most efficient sustainers without being aware of it. No one denies that a license law is its shield and protection. Those engaged in the liquor trade are fully aware of that, and act accordingly, though behind the screen of various party issues of a

puerile character, or some ever-impending "*crisis!*" The friends of temperance seem in some vague manner to realize it also, but they do not act accordingly. They unite annually with the liquor party in electing such law-makers as are the friends of our license laws.

While doing that, they not only abstain virtuously from intoxicating drinks, but try to save the young, and to reclaim all the old toppers they possibly can. Having put into the ballot-box that which is sure to defeat their best efforts for a righteous cause, they look around upon the wrecks of humanity—*made such by themselves*—and are amazed that intemperance is so hard to root out! They vote regularly every year of their blessed lives to perpetuate dram shops, and still work on vigorously trying to counteract their inevitable consequences. How very wise they must appear in their own eyes, that is, if they could see themselves as they really are! The boy that lingered on the bank of a river for the water to run out so that he might walk across its dry bed, was a philosopher of the same kind. Had the boy by some voluntary act of his own caused the flow of the fountains that made up the river which he wanted to see run dry, he would have exhibited a sagacity quite equal to that displayed by some of our most zealous temperance reformers, who vote with the tavern keepers and their customers to continue a license law, and

then wait for its pernicious fruits to cease growing and maturing ! How long, oh ! how long, is this thing to go on ?

It is truly surprising that a temperance man should be over head and ears in the liquor traffic without knowing it himself. Were he asked to join a liquor league, he would most indignantly refuse ; yet he is actually doing all that the league would require of any of its members ! The liquor league does not bind its members to use alcoholic beverages—they may keep as sober as they please—it simply pledges them to vote for the friends of a license law. It does not require them to drink rum, only to vote for its legal sale, and so long as they do that, the league does not care a straw how many of them are teetotalers, or even members of temperance associations. Indeed, there is no doubt but that the league would welcome to its Satanic conclave all who are aiding it to fill our legislatures with the upholders of a lawful liquor traffic. Why should they not join the liquor league at once, or withdraw from its service in voting ? So long as they vote with and for liquor leagues, they constitute the most essential link in the whiskey ring, and ought not to be ashamed of their partners in crime. Consistency, however, should induce them to back out, if not turned out of the various churches and temperance associations to which they belong, and to repudiate openly a pledge they are so constantly violating.

The whole matter is plain enough, when rightly viewed. The guilty rumseller is not alone responsible. He could not pursue his vicious trade without authority from the people. He is but the tool of those who clothe him with legal power to make drunkards, and criminals and paupers. When women and children suffer from drunken husbands and fathers, they should be taught to know that their troubles come from the votes of their professedly temperate neighbors. Instead of venting all their just indignation upon the rumseller, they should look beyond him, to those who set him up in business.

The hour has come, when no man can be recognized as a temperance man, whose vote is to sustain a license law of any kind. He who drinks alcohol injures himself and family; he who sells it blights the happiness of a wider circle; but he who votes for its sale, *inflicts the curse upon the people of the whole State in which he resides.* A true temperance man can neither drink it nor vote for it, but if he must do either, *it is better that he should consume it himself, than fasten the desolating traffic upon others.*

Can we not persuade all ministers of the gospel to refrain from sending men to a drunkard's grave? Can we not induce all men—especially nominal temperance men—to stop voting to uphold the liquor traffic by electing silent members to our legislature?

As soon as we have convinced the people of the deep criminality of voting for rum, as soon as they can be made to pause and shrink back appalled at the very thought of perpetrating a deed so sinful, they will begin to learn what is their next duty.

Thousands are already convinced that the rum traffic is immoral and disgraceful to such as are engaged in it, and they would not continue to vote it up, if they did but know what they are doing. Our first duty, therefore, is to make temperance men of such as are members of temperance societies. As soon as we can stop our temperance lecturers, and our thousands of Reverends and D. D.'s, from voting for the supporters of license laws, they will see clearly what is the next step to be taken, and they will admit that the right step was taken at Chicago by the organization of a party separate and distinct from the two great license parties. To continue longer to choose between two such parties is like choosing between two rotten eggs.

When a good man comes to the conclusion that he can no easier vote for rum than he can drink it, or engage in the sale of it, he will not be long in finding or organizing such a party as he can conscientiously support, and the foundation of a party thus formed will be as solid and enduring as the love of right and repugnance to wrong in the human heart.

Entire abstinence from the guilt of drunkard-making is not only a new idea, but one of grand and mighty significance. This paramount duty, so essential to our temporal and eternal salvation, united with the now evident truth that the *tap root* of intemperance, including all of its nameless abominations, is in the ballot box, is quite enough for the foundation of a great and redeeming party. These vital and renovating principles demand a party moral and political, and they have got it. They are too exalted, too foreign to the nature of the old parties, to be adopted by either of them.

It will not be like other parties, killed by defeat. The party that pure men are forced into as their only refuge from moral pollution and eternal condemnation, will never fail to lack for numbers so long as a license law, that outrage without parallel in history, exists. A thousand defeats will not make righteous men forsake the right and embrace that which they feel and know to be wrong. When men have once resolved to abstain from the great crime of the age—drunkard-making—come weal or come woe, they can never be wheedled or cajoled into it again.

Their abhorrence of the fathomless iniquity, like elemental fires, can never be extinguished. Defeat has no terrors for such a party.

Happily the true course now is both sensible and feasible, and the only one left for honest, con-

scientious men to pursue. We can remain no longer in the old dram-shop parties without self-condemnation, and when it comes to that, there is no choice but to take our places in the new party, however small at the beginning. It may promise nothing for its pioneers but hard work and self-sacrifice. As Dr. F. R. Lees said on a similar occasion, "That is nothing to us ; we have a duty to do and a truth to speak, and that duty shall be performed." I also unite with the *Northern Independent* in saying :.

"To this we are driven if we would avoid the only alternative—an abandonment of the cause. But to abandon the cause so long as we have any regard for moral principle or for the welfare of mankind is utterly impossible. Vote we must while this high function is accorded to us by the Government under which we live, and we dare not use the ballot feebly or uncertainly as we necessarily must if we use it without organization."

CHAPTER IV.

BETWEEN THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.

A SERMON BY THE REV. CANON FARRAR, D. D., F. R. S.

THE following discourse gives a very clear and forcible presentation of the ravages of the drinking usages of Great Britain. We give it a place in our work, feeling that the testimony of one of such ripe scholarship and exalted position will have great weight with our people.

It is also shown that Christian men in that country, as well as in ours, are awakening to a sense of the danger. Mark well the closing words of this able and earnest discourse.

Numbers xvi. 48: "And he stood between the dead and the living."

On previous Sundays, my brethren, I have endeavored, at the request of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Evidence, to set before you "the universe as a manifestation of God's eternal power and Godhead," by showing you, first, that its beauty was a seal of the handiwork of its Creator; and then, that neither in its illimitable vastness, nor in the steady uniformity of the laws which govern it, is there anything to shake, but rather very much to strengthen our

faith in God. Such truths may be deeply practical, if we will make them so, if we will remember that this is the God whose eye is ever upon us; that "this God is our God forever and ever, and shall be our guide unto our death." And such truths have also a deep bearing on the subject of which I am bidden to speak to-day. For if there be one thing which would stand out clearly from such a contemplation of the awfulness of God, and yet the love which could lend His own Son to die for us, it is the guilt involved in a willful depravation of His work, the dreadful consequences which must follow—which, as a fact, are daily following—from the flagrant violation of His laws. Willful sin, a willful sacrifice of duty to self-indulgence; a willful choice of the lower and baser, instead of the higher and nobler, is disastrous to the individual; and pitiable, indeed, is the shipwreck which it causes to the hope and the happiness of life. But, in the case of a nation, still more disastrous is the loss, still more overwhelming the shipwreck. Take the history of any nation under the sun; watch its rise and watch its ruin, and see whether, in every instance, its ruin has not been the retribution of its guilt. You may not be able to see exactly why it was, but you are forced to see that so it was: and the secular historian will tell you, as emphatically as a theologian, that to every nation, in its turn, sin has meant—first,

weakness, then decay, lastly, destruction. What ruined Judah? In its first stage, idolatry; in its second stage, Pharisaism. What sapped the strength of Greece? Sensuality. What broke the iron arm of Rome? Again, sensuality, joined with slavery. What ruined Spain? Avarice. What ruined Venice? Pride. What ruined the Papacy? Ambition. If ever England be ruined, what will be her ruin? Her national sin, whatever that national sin may be. And what is the national sin of England? Alas! there are many sins in England, but ask the unbiased opinion of those who know; ask the unsuspected testimony of the English judges; ask the exceptional experience of the English clergy; ask the unguarded admissions of the English press; and their unanimous answer would be, I think, as would be the unanimous answer of every thoughtful man in this vast assembly—the national sin of England is in drunkenness; the national curse of England is drink.

2. My brethren, it has been my duty more than once of late to speak of intemperance, and I am willing to bear the penalty. On this subject it is an imperative duty that the pulpit should not be always silent; but if I am not afraid to speak the truth, I do earnestly desire to speak truth only, and to speak the truth in love. Far from the sanctity of this place be vulgar exaggeration. This Abbey is sacred to truth, sacred to faith,

sacred to charity. Were I to say from this place one word that was unwarrantable, it would seem to me as though the immortal spirits of the great men whose memorials stand thick around us were frowning on me in disdain. But they would have still more cause to frown if I glossed over the truth with lies. To exaggerate is one thing, to be charged with exaggerations is quite another. There are, alas! aspects of this matter which it is impossible to exaggerate, and, though I shall touch only on facts admitted and undeniable, the worst facts are far too bad to be here spoken of at all. And if there be any here who are concerned in the maintenance of a trade from which flow such dangerous consequences, while I ask them to think over their responsibility, and of that strict and solemn account which they must one day give before the judgment-seat of Christ, they may rest assured that I speak of a system, not of individuals, and that, as I never have, so neither now will I, say one word which is meant to reflect painfully on them. But, knowing drunkenness to be a ruinous vice, and seeing that the results which flow from it are of the darkest and most appalling character, I therefore desire to arrest—more and more to arrest—so far as I can, the attention of the people of England to this crying and wide-wasting evil. To the intemperate I am not speaking, though from my very soul I pity them; nor to abstainers,

to whom I can say nothing new ; but I do want every English man and woman in this Abbey, and every English-speaking man and woman whom, in any form, or by any means, these words can reach, to face the stern facts which I shall touch upon ; to ask themselves how far they mean to be entangled in responsibility for them ; and how long they will, and why they will, look on at such facts unmoved. How weak, alas ! are poor human words ; how timid poor human hearts ! but oh ! if the Great Angel of the Apocalypse could speak, and if his voice were in the thunder's mouth, he could not speak too loud to warn England of the sin and misery which are in the midst of her—to urge her to shake out of her bosom this burning coal of fire.

3. "Woe," says Jeremiah, "woe to the drunkard of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower." The allusions to drunkenness in Scripture and in classical literature are not unfrequent. Yet drunkenness was not the prevalent sin of ancient times ; and an ancient Spartan, an ancient Roman, or an ancient Hebrew would have stared with contemptuous disgust at the sights which in Christian England are familiar as a jest. It was not that they were less prone to sin, but they were less petted with temptation. Southern and Eastern nations have never been so drunken as Northern ; and ancient nations were ignorant of that deadly spirit (derived from the fermenta-

tion of saccharine matters, which, as a distinct compound, was first discovered about 1300) which has wrought a havoc so frightful among us. The simple wines of antiquity were incomparably less deadly than the stupefying and ardent beverage on which £150,000,000 are yearly spent in this suffering land. The wines of antiquity were more like syrups; many of them were not intoxicant; many more intoxicant in but a small degree, and all of them, as a rule, only taken when diluted with water. The sale of these comparatively harmless vinous fluids did not bear the remotest resemblance to the drink trade among us, nor did the same ghastly retinue of evils follow in its train. They contained, even when undiluted, but four or five per cent., of alcohol, whereas some of our common wines contain seventeen per cent., and the maddening intoxicants of Scotch and English cities contain the horrible amount of fifty-four per cent., of alcohol. Take but one illustration of the difference of ancient and modern days. Our blessed Lord, when He lived on earth, traversed Palestine from end to end. He saw many a sinner and many a sufferer; He saw the lepers, and healed them; He saw weeping, penitent women, and restored them to honor and holiness again; there is not the slightest trace that He ever once witnessed that spectacle of miserable degradation, a drunken man, or that yet more pitiable spectacle

of yet deadlier degradation, a drunken woman. He who scattered the obstinate formalism of the Pharisee; He who flung into the sea, with a millstone around his neck, the corruptor of youthful innocence; what would He have said, what would He have felt, had He heard the shrieks of women beaten by drunken husbands; had He seen little children carried into the hospital stricken down by their drunken mothers' senseless or infuriated hands? Ah! estimate these things as He would have estimated them, and then will you dare to sneer at those who for very shame, for very pity, for the mere love of their kind and country, can not let these things be so?

4. And, alas! my brethren, but for these spirits England need not be a drunken nation; for the day was when she was not a drunken nation. Listen, my brethren, to a page of your own history. In the reign of that great king, King Henry V., who enlarged this Abbey, in his army of heroic victors, the army of Agincourt, drunkenness was deemed an utter disgrace; and King Henry was so impressed with the curse of it that he wanted to cut down all the vines in France. Not yet accustomed, as one has said, "to pour oil of vitriol on the roses of youth," not yet accustomed to apply hot and rebellious liquors to the blood of her children, England at that day might have said to one or other of her then not numerous drunkards:

I know thee not, old man; fall to thy prayers,
 How ill white hairs become a fool and jester,
 I long have dreamt of such a kind of man—
 So surfeit-swelled, so old, and so profane;
 But, being waked, I do despise my dream,

* * * * *

And know the grave doth gape
 For thee thrice wider than for other men.

The great antiquary, Camden, who lies buried there, says, "that in his day drunkenness was a recent vice;" and other writers say, that "we brought the foul vice of drunkenness from the wars in the Netherlands, as we had brought back the foul disease of leprosy from the Crusades." In the bad reaction which followed the restoration, when the people broke loose from the stern, but noble bonds of Puritan restriction to plunge into abominable license, the evil habit was enormously increased, and many a great statesman and great writer of the subsequent epoch—a Pitt, an Addison, a Bolingbroke, a Walpole, a Carteret, a Pulteny—shattered his nerves and shortened his life by drink. But it was about the year 1724, as we are told by the last historian of the eighteenth century, that "gin drinking" began to affect the masses, and it spread with the rapidity and violence of an epidemic. "Small," he says, "as is the place which this fact occupies in English history, it was probably—if we consider all the consequences that flowed from it—the most momentous in that eighteenth century," because from the

time "the fatal passion for drink was at once and irrevocably planted in the nation." Yes, it was only 150 years ago that there began the disastrous era of the dram-shop and the gin-palace; from that epoch the ardent spirits began to madden the brain, to poison the blood, to brutalize the habits of the lowest classes. Distillation replaced the comparatively harmless wines of our forefathers by those poisonous draughts of liquid fire which are at this moment the scathing, blighting and degrading curse of myriads—the fellest and the foulest temptation with which our working classes have to struggle. The Jewish rabbis have a legend that, when the first vineyard was planted, Satan rejoiced, and said to Noah that he should have his account in the results; and in truth the wine-cup, which poets so extol, is the cause, as Solomon has told us, of woes enough; but if ever the spirits of evil hailed a potent ally with shouts of triumph, it must have been when that thing was discovered, which, regarded as a harmless luxury by the virtuous, acts as a subtle and soul-destroying ruin of the unsuspecting—that thing in the use of which "intemperance, the great murderer of millions, doth creep for shelter into houses of moderation."

5. But to return to history. Ardent spirits had not long been introduced when the Grand Jury of Middlesex, in a powerful presentment, declared that much the greatest part of the poverty, the

robberies, the murders of London, might be traced to this single cause. (Painted boards informed the poor that for one penny they might purchase drunken stupefaction, and as though the adjuncts of the sty were necessary to complete the accessories of truly swinish degradation, the straw in the cellars was gratuitously supplied.) Even the morals of the eighteenth century—bad as they were—did not so acquiesce in this public demoralization as we, with our consciences seared with the hot irons of customs, are content with acquiescing. In 1736 a strenuous attempt was made to stem the rising tide of shame and ruin. (By placing prohibitive duties on all spirituous liquors. In 1773 those duties were enormously diminished—partly on the futile plea of stopping illicit distillation, but mainly to replenish the Exchequer for the German wars of George II.) Against the Gin Act, as it was called, Lord Chesterfield, most polished and brilliant peer of that day, flung his whole influence, alas, in vain! When I quote his words to you, remember that you are listening to a professed man of the world, perfectly cool-headed, the mirror of fashion, the idol of society, yet speaking simply as a patriot, from ordinary observation of the notorious effect of what he calls “the new liquor.” Had he used such language now, he would have been called an intemperate Pharisee; but he spoke to an age not yet hardened by familiarities with the horrors

of dram-drinking. "Vice, my lords," he said, "is not properly to be taxed, but to be suppressed; and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which that suppression can be attained. Luxury, my lords, may very properly be taxed. But the use of these things which are simply hurtful—hurtful in their own nature, and in every degree—is to be prohibited. If their liquors are so delicious that people are tempted to their own destruction, let us at length, my lords, secure them from these fatal draughts by bursting the vials that contain them. Let us check these artists in human slaughter, which have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such baits as can not be resisted. When I consider, my lords, the tendency of this bill, I find it calculated only for the propagation of disease, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. For the purpose, my lords, what could have been invented more efficacious than shops at which poison may be vended, poison so prepared as to please the palate, while it wastes the strength and kills only by intoxication?" So spoke, so thought, Lord Chesterfield, about the ardent spirits which are now sold on every day in the week at 140 licensed houses within a small radius of the Abbey, into most of which hundreds of men, of women, and of children will enter this very day. And he did not stand alone. If you

would know what your fathers thought of these things, look at Hogarth's ghastliest pictures of Rum-lane and Gin-alley. If you doubt art, take the testimony of science. In 1750 the London physicians drew up a memorial to the effect that there were then 14,000 cases of fatal illness attributable to gin alone; and Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, wrote: "Our people have become what they never were before, cruel and inhuman. These accursed liquors, which, to the shame of our government, are so easily to be had, have changed their very nature;" and about the same time the entire bench of bishops protested against the Gin Act, as founded on the indulgence of debauchery, the encouragement of crime, and the destruction of the human race.

6. It was amid these protests of men and these warnings of God, that in England the shameful and miserable tale began. You know, or you may know, and you ought to know, how it has gone on. The extent, indeed, of the calamity you do not and cannot know. That can be fully known to Him only who hears, and not in vain, the sighs and moans that load the air with their quivering misery; to Him alone who can estimate the area of wreck and ruin, of human agony and human degradation, which are represented by the fact that this country spends £150,000,000 a year on drink, and that in this country there are, amongst the many who drink, 600,000 drunkards,

No, you cannot estimate it; you have not even one fraction of such knowledge about it as we have who have seen it; but need you ignore it? Can you live in the very midst of facts so ugly, and yet not lift a finger to make them better? Read for yourselves. Judge for yourselves. Refute these facts if you can; would to God that you could, but, alas! you can not. Convince yourselves first that alcohol, however much you may like it, is needless, seeing that the lives of four million total abstainers, who never touch it, are better in any insurance office than those of other men; and that among our 20,000 prisoners—most of them brought there by it—there is, because they are not allowed to touch it, a better average healthiness than among any other class. Convince yourselves, then, that it is absolutely needless, and then judge yourselves of its effects. Do not take our testimony, but inquire. Go and catch with your own eyes a glimpse here and there of the black wave of this subterranean stream. Health is the most priceless boon of life. Go to our London hospitals, and ask how many are brought there by the awful diseases, the appalling accidents, the brutal violence of drink. Pauperism is the curse of cities. Ask poor-law guardians how paupers are made; ask any economist, worthy the name, how pauperism can possibly be avoided when so much idleness is due to the £37,000,000—as much as all their

rent—which, by the very lowest estimates, our poorest classes waste in drink. Lunacy is one of the worst inflictions of humanity; ask at any public asylum the percentage of it due to drink. Idiocy is one of the saddest phenomena of life; ask any doctor how many idiots are born of drunken parents. Visit our camps and barracks, and there is not an officer who will not tell you that drink is the deadliest curse of our army. Visit our ships and sea-ports, and there is not a captain who will not tell you that drink is the worst ruin of our sailors. Go to any parish, or town, or county, all over the United Kingdom, where there are many public houses and many poor; any clergyman will tell you that drink is the most overwhelming curse of our working people. Philanthropists sigh for the dirt, the squalor, the misery of our lowest classes. How can it be remedied, so long as there is the maximum of temptation where is the minimum of wages to waste, and the minimum of power to resist.

• Here almost under the shadows of the great towers, of our houses of Legislature, and within bowshot of this great Abbey, are streets in which house after house, family after family, is ruined or rendered miserable by this one cause; and, oh! how long will our Legislature still refuse to interfere? Oh that we could show them the misery of the innocent, the imbruting of the guilty; women broken-hearted, children degraded,

men lowered beneath the level of the beasts; holidays changed into a bane, high wages wasted into a curse, the day of God turned into a day of Satan; our jails filled, our criminal classes recruited, our workhouses rendered inevitable. This it was which made the late Mr. C. Buxton say that the struggle of the school, the library, and the church, were united and united in vain against the beer shop and the gin palace, and that this struggle was "one development of the war between heaven and hell." Have we not a right to expect, have we not a right to demand, that in this struggle the Legislature should take their part?

7. Look at the statue of that glorious statesman, who there, "with eagle face and outstretched hands, still seems to bid England be of good cheer, and hurl defiance at her foes." Speaking of the proposal to use Indians against our American colonists, he burst into that memorable storm of words, which you all have read: "I call upon that Right Reverend Bench. I conjure them to join in the holy work and vindicate the religion of their God. I call upon the bishops," he said, "to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of ermine to save us from this pollution. I call upon your lordships to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion

to do away these iniquities from among us. Let them perform a lustration. Let them purify this house and this country from this sin." In his burning wrath of moral indignation, so stormed, so thundered the mighty Earl of Chatham, when it was proposed to let loose on our revolted colonists "the hell-hounds of savage war." But against this hell-hound of savage intoxication, the bishops did then and the judges^{*} do now their very best to interpose. They, at least, can estimate, if any can, the connection of drink and crime. Have they failed to estimate it? There is scarcely a judge on the bench who has not spoken of it, till it has become a commonplace of the courts of justice. "It is not from men who are drunk," said one judge; "but from men that have been drinking, that most of the crime proceeds." "The worst is," said another, "that men enter the public-house sober, and leave it felons." "But for drink," others have said, again and again, "not one of these cases would have been brought before me." "Do away with drink," say others, "and we may shut up two-thirds of our prisons." So they have said—well-nigh every one of them—and still the maddening wave of alcohol flows on, and sweeps legislators into Parliament upon its crest. And are these judges fanatics? are they Pharisees? Or is it that they are forced to see what every one of us might see if we chose—a fearful and intolerable fact? The

new year dawned upon upon us five months ago with all its cheerful prophecies and jubilant hopes, and when it began I thought I would make a record of a few out of the thousands of awful crimes with which drink would blight and desecrate its history. Very soon I paused, sickened, horror-stricken. The crimes were too awful, too inhuman, sometimes too grotesque in their pitiable horror. Other crimes are human crimes, but the crimes done in drink are as the crimes of demoniacs, the crimes of men who for the time have ceased to be men, and have become fiends. Oh! that these walls should hear them! Oh! that the angel of the nation might blot them out of his record with such tears as angels weep, to think that Christ daily crucified in the midst of us should, from His throne in heaven—

See only this,

After the passion of a thousand years.

I have some of them written here, but they are too black to tell you. Now it was a boy stabbing his father in a cellar in Liverpool; now a wife killing her husband with one savage blow; now a woman's suicide; now a little infant overlaid; now a drunken carman driving over a child, a woman and a boy; now a man—I dare not go on. I dare not describe the least bad, much less tell the worst. These things—these daily incidents of the year of grace 1878—Christian men

and Christian women, are they unfit for your fastidious ears? Ah! but things are as they are, and it is not your fastidiousness that can undo them. And is it not a hypocrisy to shrink with delicate sensibility from hearing of crimes which are going on about you from day to day, and from week to week, and from year to year, while you do not shrink from the fact that they should be done, from the fact that they should be borne, by Englishmen like yourselves; done and borne by English women who might once have worn the rose of womanhood; done and borne by boys and girls who were once little bright-eyed children in our schools, and who, but for drink, might have grown up as happy and as sweet as yours. And if you are ashamed that these things should be, why do many of you not lift one finger to prevent this mingled stream of crime and pauperism from pouring its deluge through our streets? For where are these things being done? In savage islands? Among Pacific cannibals? Among ancient pagans, such as St. Paul describes? No, I declare to you that I found no records of such chronic horrors among them as I find, normally, daily, as incidents of ordinary life, as items of common news, happening now; happening to day; happening in the midst of the nineteenth century after Christ; happening in Christian England; happening in Liverpool, in Dublin, in Glasgow, in Manchester; happening

here under your minster towers. Here, even in these streets hard by—oh, what a tale I could tell—the husband imprisoned for assaulting his wife; the son in jail for striking his aged, miserable mother; the father deserting his family of little children; the son dishonoring his home; the man once rich now ruined; the woman barely snatched from agonizing suicide. And Christian men and Christian women, you wonder that our hearts are stirred within us when we see whole classes of a city—whole classes which should have been its marrow and its strength—thus given to drink? When will this indifference cease? When will a nation, half ruined by her vice, demand what the Legislature will not then withhold? Sooner or later it must be so, or England must perish. Weigh the gain and loss—strike the balance. On the one scale place whole tons of intoxicating and adulterated liquor—put alcohol, at the very best a needless luxury; on the other side put £150,000,000 a year, and grain enough to feed a nation, and grapes that might have been innocent delight of millions; and load the scale—for you must if you would be fair—load it with disease, and pauperism, and murder and madness, and horrors and such as no heart can conceive, and no tongue tell; and wet it with rivers of widows' and orphans' tears; and if you will not strike the balance, God will one day strike it for you. But will you, as Christian

men and Christian women—will you, as lovers of your country and lovers of your kind—stand up before high God, and say that the one is worth the other? Will you lay your hand upon your heart, and say that these things ought so to be?

8. I stop at England. The half, alas! is not told you! That awful guilt remains, that throughout our colonies and dependencies, we, the proud race whose flag dominates the seas, and on whose empire the sun never sets—we, “wherever winds blow and waters roll, have girdled, are girdling the world with a zone of drunkenness;” until, as I think of it—as I think of the curses, not loud, but deep, muttered against our name by races which our fire-water has decimated and our vice degraded—I seem to shudder, as there sounds in my ear the stern inquiry to our country, “These things hast thou done, and I held my peace; and thou thoughtest wickedly that I was such an one as thyself; but I will reprove thee and set before thee the things that thou hast done;” and the menace of prophetic doom, “Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? and shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?”

9. But, oh! will not some one interfere before it is too late? Once in the camp of Israel there arose a wail of horror and of agony: “There is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun;” and, quick as thought, the High Priest, Aaron, took a censer, and put fire thereon from

off the altar, and ran into the midst of the congregation, and put on incense, and stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed. Will no one do it now? We are encircled by the immortal memorials of those who fought the slave trade, and shattered the biblical and other sophisms of its defenders. In yonder aisle are the statues of Wilberforce and Raffles, and by the western door the liberated slave kneels, in immortal marble, by the death-bed of Fox, whose errors are forgotten, whose genius is ennobled by the championship of that great cause:

Oh, God, for a man with head, heart, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by.
Some still strong man in a blatant land!
Whatever they call him, what care I?

Oh, for some man again, with the eloquence of these and the same burning enthusiasm, to redress the intolerable wrongs, to alleviate the needless miseries of man! Before the clear intellect, before the fiery zeal of such an one, the flimsy sophisms of a pseudo-liberty, and the perverted plea of a feeble literalism, would melt like tow at the breath of flame. Were it not better thus than to plunge into the heat of party squabbles and win the evanescent triumph of an hour? Will no one save a nation from multiplying, legalizing for itself a needless, an artificial, a self-created destruction? Oh, what a crown would such a man

deserve! He would deserve a grander monument than Wellington, a prouder statue than Chatham's self. The name, the memory of such a man should live when the names of many that are recorded here, and of most of the living statesmen who shall follow them, are covered with oblivion's dust. God grant us such an one to stand between the living and the dead, for the plague has indeed begun. They have been dying of it for two centuries; they are dying now, dying of disease, dying by violence, dying by suicide, dying in hospitals, dying in squalid garrets everywhere; strong men, miserable women, little children, dying so slowly that none call it murder. But if the drinkers cannot save themselves; if with their money they drink away their manliness, and with their sense of shame their power of will; shall not the nation save them—save them from themselves—save them from destroying temptation—save their wretched children, their wretched wives? The Legislature will not help us, because, they tell us, as yet public opinion is not strong enough. Then, in God's name, let public opinion become strong enough. Let the working classes, who are most affected, take up this question. Let them snatch their order from this ruin. Let them cleanse it from this stain. What the Senate refuses now, it cannot, it will not, it dare not, refuse when a nation, knocking at its door with righteous and imperious demand, tells

them that they are there to do its bidding. But as for us who are not senators, whose power is small, let us at least help to form this public opinion. Let us change this national sin of drunkenness into the national glory of self-control; let us become the Nazarites, as we have been the helots, of the world. To hope for this has been called extravagant; nevertheless I do hope it. If there are in England 600,000 drunkards, there are also in England, thank God, four million abstainers; and without an iota of loss, and with an immensity of gain—if with stronger health, and clearer intellect, and unwasted means, to the great happiness of themselves, to the clear example to others, there are four millions of every rank, and every position, and every degree of intellectual power, I for one—believing noble things of man as I believe noble things of God—I, for one, do not see why there should not be many millions. But if we cannot and will not save ourselves, let us save our children. If the wealth and peace of this generation are to be a holocaust to drink, let the next be an offering to God. Let us do what Wellington said at Waterloo; let us have young soldiers. Let every young man in his strength, every maiden in her innocence and beauty, join the ranks of the abstainers. Let the manliness of the nation spring to its own defense, so that by a sense of shame, and a love of virtue, if this evil cannot be sup-

pressed by law, it may perish of inanition. If so, I see no end to the greatness of England, no limit to the prolongation of her power. If not, in all history, as in all individual experience, I see but this one lesson—no nation, no individual, can thrive so long as it be under the dominion of a besetting sin. It must conquer or be conquered. It must destroy it, or be destroyed by it. It must strike at the sources of it, or be stricken down by it into the dust.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAY OF ESCAPE.

“The first aim of Government is to settle what is just, and enforce it; this is the science of politics.”

“The second considers what is beneficial and promotes it; this is the science of political economy.”

HE would indeed perform an ungrateful task, who, pointing out danger, gives no intimation of a way of escape. If the peril to which we are exposed by strong drink existed by a necessity of nature, it would be the duty of the friend of humanity rather to calm the fears of the people, soothe them with palliatives, and say, “Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die.” Why torment them now with gloomy forebodings, grim spectres and hydras dire? What if with prophetic eye we see clearly their ghastly forms peering at us through the vista of the future; why come like a bird of evil omen to disturb present happiness with discordant croakings? But, we see a way of escape, and we have faith to believe that all we require is that the people (we mean the mass of those who vote) should fully understand the nature of the evil and the causes that tend to its perpetuation. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; and what

is true of the individual, is true of the nation. The nation is only the aggregation of the individual; and let it once be universally impressed upon the public mind that the national life, the perpetuity of our institutions, depend upon the eradication of this great curse, and the people will rise in their might, and vow by friends on earth and God in heaven, that this traffic must and shall cease. We have an abiding faith in the people when their eyes are opened. It is a great mistake to suppose that they are already informed. The great mass of voters have never yet had this question in all its withering, blighting influences, fully exposed. They have indeed been made painfully conscious of the evils of drunkenness; but few realize that the miseries which they so much deplore are the necessary, nay, the inevitable outgrowth of the system. In all the public advocacy of the cause of Temperance, few have addressed themselves to this educational work; and, no wonder. Temperance advocates are human, and, while there has been no regularly organized effort to sustain them in the field, it is perfectly natural that they should adopt a course by which they could gain popularity and support. To get men to sign the pledge, and to reform the drunkard, is a work that at once appeals to the sympathies of the people, and is acknowledged by all to be a good work—a work that even liquor dealers will commend, and, in many cases, con-

tribute of their means to support. Hence the advocate upon the purely moral-suasion plan can, with comparative ease, get up a *tidal wave of popular enthusiasm*. He offends none; the wire-pulling politician, whose party panders to the accursed traffic, can without fear join in the popular enthusiasm. The professed Christian, who voted for license, can enjoy the meeting, he can laugh at the ludicrous scenes presented, have his blood stirred by the melodramatic presentation of some scene of horror, and be melted to a fine state of sympathetic feeling, and drop a tear over the sad story of a worse than widowed woman or orphan child. But his conscience is not touched, he is not hurt, no unkind word is said to him, and, under the self-satisfied consciousness that no responsibility rests upon him, he is ready and willing to give his influence and money to sustain the Temperance revival.

But when he comes to trace effects to their legitimate causes, and the stern logic of facts brings home to him the conviction that he is a partner in the *crime of drunkard-making*; that the blood of the victim is on his hands, that as a citizen he has sold his brother to the Ishmaelitic tribe of liquor dealers, it is a very different thing, and he is ready in thunder tones to denounce those who cause all the misery and woe.

When the prohibition advocate tells him, as Nathan told David, "Thou art the man," the

Temperance revival suddenly loses its attractions for him, and he concludes that this is not the way to advance THE CAUSE.

We have dwelt upon this aspect of the Temperance reform in the hope that its friends may realize that we have no cause for discouragement because we have not accomplished a work that we have in reality never undertaken.

The time has come when an advance movement is imperatively demanded, and that we shall no longer be content with temporary palliatives of the evil, or sectional and partial restrictions of the Curse. We must aim to adopt a means of cure commensurate with the nature and extent of the danger. The danger is national, and the remedy must be national also.

A careful consideration of the truths already set forth must convince every candid reader of the duty to suppress this evil. Now we cannot, in the space to which we are limited, do more than lay down some general principles to which we ask your careful and prayerful consideration as citizens.

Our first proposition is, *that the legalized liquor traffic is the cause of the drinking usages*, and hence the cause of all the misery and woe resulting from it; therefore ought to be put down by legislative enactment.

As we hear continually from intelligent men the objection that this is a question of morals,

and ought not to be brought into politics, permit us to state the following accepted principles of the Science of Politics: "A nation is an association of individuals on a large scale, for the purposes of mutual protection and benefits; and government is the instrument for securing these ends."

"Its true mission is to regulate the equitable relations of men. This it does by protecting the weak against the strong, and by securing to each member of the community the undisturbed possession of his natural and civil rights. The only limitation to the rights of the individual is when he engages in any calling that interferes with the rights of others, or endangers their life or property."

Bentham, a standard authority says: "The sole object of government ought to be the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the community. This end is promoted by encouraging every industry and institution calculated to confer benefit; and discouraging, and even sternly repressing, those of a pernicious, immoral, and dangerous character; in a word, by such wise legislation as shall tend to promote the physical health, the social comfort, and the intellectual enjoyments of the people."

We might multiply authorities, but these are sufficient. The question now is, does the liquor traffic meet the above requirements? If it does,

we have no right to interfere with it, nay, we have no right to denounce it. If the traffic in strong drink is a useful or necessary trade, it ought to be allowed to exist without any restrictions. We protest against the license system as either tyrannical and in violation of all sound legislation, or morally wrong. Great injustice is done either to the liquor dealers or to the people. We will go a step further, and say, if the evils flowing from it are merely incidental, or accidental, we still contend we have no right to make it a subject of special license, but allow every citizen, who will put around it the necessary safeguards, to engage in it. But if, on the other hand, it can be proved to be essentially evil, that the dangers resulting from it are not accidental, but are the natural and inevitable outgrowth of the system, then we ought not to regulate, but prohibit.

All restrictive or regulative legislation with reference to that which is, *per se*, bad, is useless or injurious, and can in no case be beneficial.

Now the question to be settled is simply this, *Is the liquor traffic in itself wrong, bad in its natural effects, and immoral in its tendencies?* Let us here adduce a little testimony upon this point. We shall not occupy time with proof that drunkenness is the giant curse of our age and nation; this is conceded on all hands. It has been so in all lands and in all ages where intoxicants are used as a beverage. Bearing in mind the fact, that drunkenness

is but the effect, moderate drinking the cause, and that the only apology for the traffic is, that it is necessary to supply the wants of the moderate drinkers, all have agreed that it would be right and proper to prohibit the effect. Why then, we ask, perpetually recognize and sanction the cause? All legislation that has hitherto acted upon the liquor traffic, proceeds upon the assumption that it is an evil, and an evil with which the people have a right to deal in their corporate capacity.

Hence all the talk about keeping the question out of politics is unmitigated nonsense; *it is in politics*, and ever has been there since the first restrictive law was passed. What was the origin and object of the license system? We all know that license laws were enacted, not to create and foster the traffic, but if possible to prevent the evil consequences it entailed upon society. The question does not now properly come up on the right of the people to prohibit by law; that has long ago been settled. -

The only question now is, have the partial prohibitory laws already passed—and all license laws are prohibitory in spirit, inasmuch as they prohibit all but the holders of the license from engaging in it—we say, have they been successful in accomplishing the desired end; viz.: preventing the evil consequences resulting from it? The whole experience of the past answers this

question. Every restriction which stops short of prohibition rather strengthens the traffic, and enables it to take deeper hold on the vitals of the nation. The parties engaged in it are thereby secured by special protection, and their trade dignified by legal recognition. And, again, avarice comes in to strengthen the unholy alliance; money is made by it, a vast monopoly is built up, and the gains thus secured enable the holders of this special privilege to spend vast sums in controlling legislation. They become a power in our national politics, such as never could be attained by any legitimate branch of commerce that was open to all who chose to engage in it.

We are often told that we must not interfere with legitimate trade or industry. We answer, the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks is not a legitimate business. In all lawful industries the demand produces the supply, but in this abnormal traffic the order is reversed, the supply produces the demand. In all other productions, if the supply is in excess of the demand, there is a glut in the market, and the producers of the article, whatever it may be, must either stop producing or suffer great loss. It is a significant fact, that there never has been a glut in the whisky market. Does not this one fact prove that the supply leads to the demand, and not the demand to the supply, as in the production of food and clothing? What is the cause of this anom-

aly? A moment's reflection will reveal the cause. The appetite for food does not increase with what it feeds on; it remains fixed and stationary, and with reference to it there is a fixed and definite demand proportionate to the population. But with reference to strong drink, the man who is supplied with a small quantity to-day will require a greater quantity to-morrow, and we can fix no limit to the increase of the demand that will be created.

It is, therefore, a great mistake to suppose that those engaged in the liquor traffic are merely supplying a legitimate demand. They are engaged in a traffic that creates and fosters a depraved appetite, that is subversive of the equitable relations between man and man, that exists by fraud, as no valuable equivalent is given for the money received, that produces poverty instead of wealth, disease instead of health and happiness; and its recognition by law is a disgrace to a Christian land. It is contrary to every principle of sound legislation, as it confers upon a few certain privileges that conflict with the rights of the many. Instead of protecting the weak against the strong, *the strong are licensed by government to ruin and oppress the weak*; and lastly, it is a violation of moral law to license that which we know and feel to be wrong. No government has a right to permit for the sake of revenue a business which demoralizes its citizens. The truth of Lord Ches-

terfield's declaration in the English House of Lords has never been denied—"Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulty in the law be what it will." Would you lay a tax upon a breach of the ten commandments?

But we must hasten to answer the question, How shall we procure legislation that shall protect us from the dangers to which we are exposed? We answer, When the individual voter recognizes his responsibility, and is determined to carry his principles to the polls; when every Christian man in this Republic, north, south, east and west, shall be brought to see that so long as he votes for a party pledged to sustain the liquor traffic, he virtually degrades himself, and is truly as guilty of aiding to perpetuate this desolating scourge as if he went behind the bar and sold liquor himself—that the liquor-seller is only his agent, and he is responsible for his acts; when our ministers of the Gospel shall proclaim from their pulpits the sin of the citizen in *voting whisky* to be as great as *selling whisky*; when men are brought to see that it is vain to base their hopes upon reforming corrupt political parties by any other means than by their votes, and that the contest with this giant curse must be fought on the open field; and when they learn the lessons which history teaches, that never in the history of the world has a political organization been known to reform itself.

While individual temperance is a moral virtue, and can only be promoted by moral suasion, the prohibition of the liquor traffic is a question of political economy, and, therefore, a political measure, which demands for its support the same means that experience has taught us to be necessary for the overthrow of an *old* policy, and the inauguration of the *new*.

Now we ask every candid reader who knows anything at all of the history of the past, if there is any hope for the inauguration of a new policy from either of the two political parties which now ask for the suffrages of the people? Have they made any advance in the past ten years in this direction? Is it not a fact that they have been steadily gravitating more and more to corruption, and becoming more and more the pliant tools of the liquor traffic? It is vain to talk of reforming these parties by selecting the best temperance men in each as our candidates for office. A true man, if he has intelligence enough to fit him for the important duties of a legislator, will not accept a nomination from a party whose platform is in direct antagonism to his own conceptions of sound policy. He knows full well that however sincere he may be, he cannot rise higher than the principles of the party who nominate him. He understands that his acceptance of their nomination implies his endorsement of their platform, and *that* he must of necessity sustain

any policy calculated to preserve the integrity of his party. The man, therefore, who becomes the standard bearer of a party whose platform he condemns, must be either a knave or a fool, and in either case is unfit to represent a free people. We can see no way to escape the dangers to which we are exposed except through a political organization embodying in its platform the principles of prohibition. Such an organization will draw to its support only those who agree with its principles, and thus it will possess that unity of purpose which alone can give it strength to grapple with such a monster evil.

Every Christian man and moral reformer must be made to feel that his franchise is a matter of conscience, and that he must exercise that decision of character which is essential to every true reformer. When the issue is so made that the good man must choose whom he will serve, and there is no alternative, that his vote must be cast, either for rum with its train of evils, misery, crime poverty, and Sabbath desecration, or for morality, temperance and truth, that there is no compromise ground on which to stand, we believe we shall soon see a great moral change. But in order that the lines may be thus drawn, we must have a banner under which to enroll the friends of God and humanity; hence the necessity of a *National* party that has the prohibition of the liquor traffic as one of the distinctive planks

of its platform. Under such an organization temperance effort can be unified and the moral and religious sentiment of the country combined and made an effective power for the suppression of the national vice.

There is in our land sufficient moral strength to accomplish the great work, if the issue could be directly made; this was proved by the vote of Pennsylvania, when local option was made a test question and separated from party politics. The only reason prohibition has not been triumphantly carried in nearly every State in this Union, is because the people, by the manipulation of party politicians, have been prevented from exercising their moral power, while they have been deluded with false hope, that the party to which they belonged would in some way bring about the desired reform. The adherents of the Republican party have been specially hoodwinked, and made to believe that its existence was essential to the national life, and that it was the only power through which the desired reform could be secured; and thus thousands, yes hundreds of thousands, of good moral voters, who are ardently devoted to the cause of temperance—men who freely admit that the question, "Shall the liquor traffic be perpetuated or shall it be outlawed?" is one of paramount importance—have clung to that organization in the vain hope that through it they had the best chance to secure the desired boon.

Christian charity leads us to the conclusion that in ignorance they have done so. Many of them, indeed, admit that they are not satisfied with the record of their party, and that they have chosen what they considered by no means a satisfactory course, but what they considered the least of two evils. We ask, Is it right thus to continue in wrong-doing that good may come? We write not as a politician, but as a moral reformer; we have no special interest in either of the two great political parties that now contend for power, for we recognize no living vital issues that separate them; and it is a matter of indifference to us, as we think it is to most of our citizens, who hold the offices of our government. With the past record of each we have nothing to do. Let the dead past bury its dead. Our mission is to arouse our fellow citizens to a sense of the duties of the living present, and impress them with the responsibilities of the pregnant future. If we seem to animadvert more upon the one party than upon the other, it is not because we have any sympathy with either, but because one claims to be a temperance party, or at least the only party from which we can expect deliverance, and is thus deluding temperance reformers. While the advocates of prohibition are thus misled by the false idea that there is a special reason for the perpetuation of either of the old parties, and that they can obtain the desired legislation without

severing their cherished party ties, as a matter of course they will still cling to it and oppose any new combination. Believing as we do that a new combination is a *sine qua non*, if we are to accomplish the work, we are compelled to dispel this illusion and show that the one party is as deeply involved as the other in the sin of legal drunkard-making. We do not require to occupy space in proving that the Democratic party is not a temperance party. It has never claimed to be such, and we never heard of any one claiming it for them. It would, therefore, be folly for us to prove the negative when no affirmative is asserted. Our attention must be turned then to that party which sets up the claim of special virtue, and proclaims itself to be the representative of *moral ideas* and the *custodian* of all that is *pure and patriotic* in American politics. We cannot certainly be accused of partisan prejudice or acrimony if, in examining this claim, we do no more than quote from their own platform, the records of their acts, and the utterances of their acknowledged representative press. It is asserted by many that it is the temperance party because it is claimed that it contains more of the religious and moral element of the country than the other. Suppose we admit this second claim, that by no means proves the first. A political party is not judged by the private character of its voters, but by the record of its acts, the principles

of its accepted platform, and the utterances of its acknowledged press. When moral and religious men vote for the perpetuation of a moral wrong, they do not thereby make it right, nor do they purify the party that perpetrates the wrong; they simply degrade themselves and bring dishonor upon the religion they profess. Let us now turn to the facts and try the question whether the Republican party is a temperance party or not, or whether it has any right to be considered better in this respect than the Democratic party; and in this investigation let us discard all irrelevant matter, and stick to the evidence in the case, remembering we are not examining the private character of Republican voters, but the public acts of the Republican party. And first as to its record. We assert that not a single prohibitory law has been passed in any *State, district or territory* by this party since it obtained power in 1860. It is true that in two or three instances such laws have been restored, but upon examination it will be found that this was done in obedience to popular will and not as a party act nor as a part of party policy.

2. It has repealed the prohibitory laws of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Michigan, and the local option law of Pennsylvania.

3. It has never made any attempt to prohibit the traffic in the District of Columbia nor in any of the territories over which it had absolute control.

4. Not only has it proved that it had no sympathy with prohibition by failing to take any active measures to promote it, but on the other hand it has specially distinguished itself as the guardian and protector of the rum power, by being the first party in the history of the United States, to boldly and unblushingly array itself in opposition to temperance and Sabbath observance by formally declaring in its national platform adopted June, 1872, its adhesion to the interest of the rum power: We give the resolution verbatim:

Sixteenth Resolution, "The Republican party propose to respect the rights reserved by the people to themselves as carefully as the powers delegated by them to the State and Federal government. It disapproves of a resort to unconstitutional laws for the purpose of removing evils by interfering with the rights not surrendered by the people to either State or National government."

The full import of this immoral resolution might not at first sight be quite apparent to the average voter; its iniquity is carefully covered with the leaves of popular verbiage, that the conscience of the Christian voter might not be alarmed at the immorality and infidelity it was designed to shelter. Let us see what it means. We do not take the construction its enemies put upon it, we are content to take its interpretation from its author, Mr. Herman Rastor, editor of a lead-

ing German Republican journal in Chicago, and a member of the platform committee of the national Republican Convention of 1872. He declares (and he has never been contradicted by any of the leaders of his party) "*that it was adopted by the platform committee with the full and explicit understanding that its purpose was the discountenancing of all so-called temperance and Sunday laws; this purpose was meant to be expressed by reference to those rights of the people which had not been delegated to either National or State Governments, it being assumed that the right to drink what one pleases (being responsible for the acts committed under the influence of strong drink), and the right to look upon the day on which Christians hold their prayer meetings as any other day, were among the rights not delegated by the people but reserved to themselves.*"

This resolution with its adopted construction needs no comment to reveal its cowardice and moral turpitude and the degradation of the party that accepted it. We say cowardice, for instead of stating plainly their meaning, they denominate prohibitory and Sunday laws as unconstitutional laws. Now every man in that convention knew well that the *Supreme Court* of the United States, and every superior court of every State to which such laws have been submitted, have declared them to be in harmony with the constitution, but they hoped by the word unconstitutional to catch

the popular ear and get the people to endorse the resolution, and then go to Mr. Herman Rastor and his rum-selling colleagues for its interpretation. To say the least of it, it presents a new phase of the doctrine of reserved rights and original sovereignty, and one compared with which the late claim of the seceding States in reference to reserved rights sinks into insignificance. They only claimed the reserved rights of the people of a State to perpetuate an institution which they believed to be right. But Mr. Rastor claims (and the Republican party admits the claim) the right, the reserved right of the individual citizen to perpetrate a wrong; for mark you, the words of the resolution admit the wrong. It says the rights, *the reserved rights*, of the people must not be interfered with, not even for the purpose of removing *evils*. Now, we ask, If the people have under our Constitution reserved rights to perpetuate one evil, why not another, if they can make money by it? Why interfere with the reserved rights of the *gambler*, the keepers of houses of infamy?—or might not the highwayman or any other criminal claim that he had reserved rights that had never been delegated to either State or National Governments? We now turn to the utterances of their party press. The *Chicago Tribune* says: "Prohibition must be prohibited by the Republican party." The *New York Times* follows in the same strain, and *Har-*

per's Weekly, a good Republican authority, says: "The Republican party is not a prohibition party." It further states "that the best sentiment of the party agrees that the subject shall be legislatively treated by authorizing a *license system*." Again it says: "Unless the Republican party is ready to announce its own *death*, it cannot consent to legislate adversely to the interests of this class of people" (referring to the liquor dealers). What does this mean, but that the Republican party is dependent upon the liquor traffic for its very existence; that it lives by the sufferance of the rum power? Had an advocate of prohibition said this much, what a howl of Rebel disorganizer, Democrat in disguise, and other complimentary names, would have been applied to him by a partisan press! It is facts like these, and we might multiply them indefinitely did space permit, that have forced the conclusion upon our best citizens that there is no hope of deliverance through existing parties. And those who are seeking a way of escape through an organization pledged to the principle are the truly loyal men; they oppose all combinations that would demoralize and enslave the people that a few may get gain; they refuse to be partners in the crime of drunkard-making; they look forward with hopeful eyes to a day when the good and true men of this Republic, East, West, North and South, shall unite in a National re-

form party, that, ignoring the bitter memories of the past, shall unitedly press onward animated by a higher purpose and a nobler aim—that in its all absorbing, generous and patriotic impulses shall again unite in fraternal bonds, this divided, distracted and demoralized country—and with the overthrow of the liquor curse shall inaugurate a period when we shall again dwell in a land of peace and prosperity; for this they labor and for this they pray.

THE END.

LECTURES.

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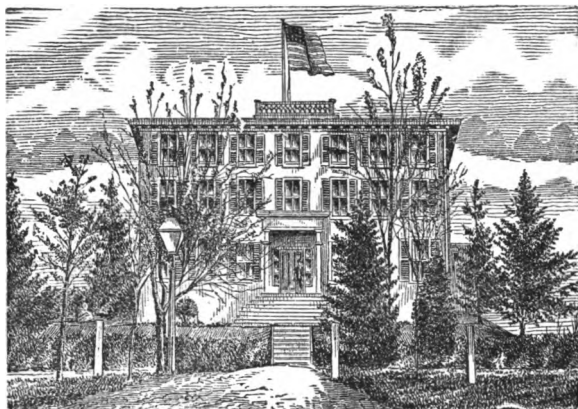
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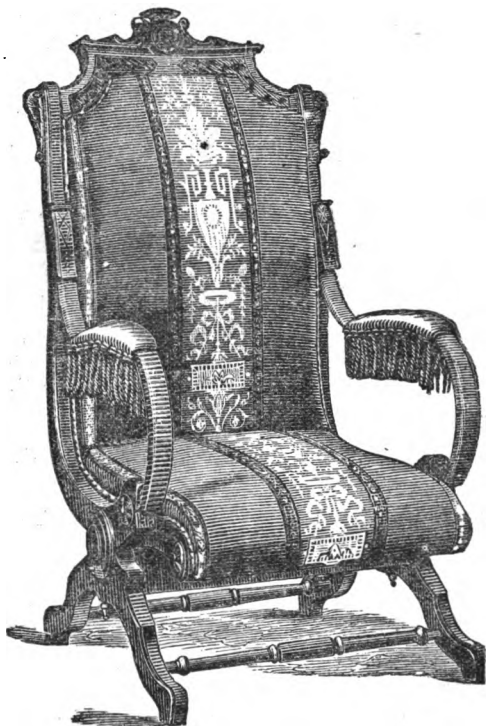
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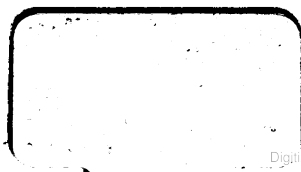
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